

Cold War Radio: U.S. Groups Busy

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

MUNICH — This old Bavarian capital, which has regained its former prestige as a center of music and the arts, is also the European headquarters of two of the most ambitious unofficial American attempts to pierce the Iron Curtain by radio broadcast-

ing. One of these, beaming its messages on a round-the-clock basis to the peoples of the Soviet Union in Russian and the languages of many of the non-Russian minorities, Ukrainian, Georgian, Tartar, White Russian, etc., is operated by Radio Liberty and recently celebrated the twelfth anniversary of its first appearance on the air. The other, Radio Free Europe, directs its messages to the peoples of the Communist-ruled countries of East Europe, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria.

Contrary to the accusations of the Communists, neither of these enterprises has ever set for itself the reckless and irresponsible goal of inciting to armed revolt, which, in the absence of outside support, could only lead to bloody repression. The aims which these two outposts of cold war broadcasting pursue are more modest, but by no means unimportant.

Supplying a Free Press

They try to supply their listeners with the kind of news and comment which might be expected to appear in a free press, non-existent under Communist dictatorship. They monitor intensively broadcasts from the Communist-ruled countries, thereby keeping in close touch with the latest political and economic trends. They are quick to make contact with and interview defectors, sometimes putting them on the air to broadcast messages to their countrymen. They abjure screaming, violent propaganda and try to build confidence by reporting events objectively. Both stations report substantial response through letters which are received at frequently changed cover drop addresses. Frequent attacks in Communist newspapers are cited to confirm the impression that they are functioning as reasonably effective gadflies.

Radio Liberty, under the local direction of Lewis W. Shollenberger, a former news correspondent, and Robert F. Kelley, a retired veteran State Department official, is proud of its "beats" on news which the Soviet press, for political reasons, either concealed altogether or printed with considerable delay. It was from Radio Liberty, as Mr. Shollenberger points out, that Soviet listeners got their first news of Khrushchev's secret speech in 1956 exposing the crimes of Stalin; of the resumption of Soviet nuclear testing, in violation of an existing moratorium, in 1961; of the nature and dimensions of the Cuban crisis in the autumn of 1962; and of internal Soviet disorders in Temir Tau in 1959 and Novocheerkassk in 1962.

While the Soviet authorities no longer jam the broadcasts of the Voice of America or the British Broadcasting Corporation, they continue to employ an expensive jamming operation against Radio Liberty. However, its means of getting through to its audience have been considerably enhanced by the opening in Spain of a powerful shortwave station.

Radio Liberty operates its oldest station from Lampertshelm, in the Rhineland area of Germany and broadcasts to Siberia from a station in Formosa.

A sister institution of Radio Liberty is the Institute for the Study of the Soviet Union, headed by an historian named Oliver Frederickson and staffed by Russian, Ukrainian and other scholars, most of whom escaped from the Soviet Union during or after World War II. The Institute holds frequent conferences and issues studies of such subjects as Soviet military strategy and agricultural problems.

Political adviser R. V. Burks, in the large headquarters of Radio Free Europe in Munich's "English Garden," where 1,100 people of many nationalities are at work, explained the change that has come over methods of broadcasting since the early years of the operation.

"At first," said Mr. Burke, "our dialogue was mainly with the peoples of the satellite countries, trying to keep up their morale, encouraging them not to lose hope. Now, as the Soviet grip has been loosened in varying degrees, our messages are aimed at the governments as well as the peoples."

Themes for Governments

The themes stressed in broadcasts designed for the attention of the governments are that the world Communist movement is beginning to disintegrate, that the United States will not permit the further expansion of communism by force, and that the first objective of these governments should be to make their economies viable by discarding unrealistic Marxian dogmatic practices and adopting some of the realistic methods of the free market. In the opinion of Mr. Burks, Czechoslovakia has gone farthest in freeing its economy, given the practice of over-all Communist control. There is a possibility that all prices there may be free in the future.

Romania has established the largest degree of political independence from Moscow, the "German Democratic Republic" and Bulgaria the least, with Hungary in the middle Mr. Burks believes.

In the opinion of Jan Novak, experienced director of the Polish desk of Radio Free Europe, there has been retrogression in Poland, following the bright dreams of 1956. Polish leader Wladyslaw Gomulka, whose health is reported to be precarious, distrusts the liberalizing tendencies of some of the intellectuals. And a prominent candidate for the succession is Mieczyslaw Moczar, who has been closely associated with the political police.

According to Mr. Novak, two of Radio Free Europe's most palpable successes were the broadcasting to Poland of the revelations of a prominent political police defector, Josef Swiatlo, and the announcement of the route which Robert Kennedy would take during his trip to Poland. The Swiatlo revelations completely discredited the terrorist re-

time that ruled Poland during Stalin's period and furnished the answer to the mysterious disappearance of Noel Field and several members of his family, as Swiatlo had himself interrogated Noel Field's brother Hermann in Polish solitary confinement. The announcement of Kennedy's route, kept secret in the Polish newspapers, brought out large throngs to greet him.

In such ways, American efforts to communicate with the peoples behind the Iron Curtain are playing a real role in the cold war.

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